

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 AEC-11 CIAE-00 EUR-25 H-03 INR-10 IO-14 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6475

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INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T USNATO 3557

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: LINK BETWEEN PHASES: NEXT SPC DISCUSSION ON ASSURANCES  
TO OTHER SIDE

REF: A) USNATO 2581; B) USNATO 2740; C) USNATO 3062;  
D) USNATO 3368; E) MBFR VIENNA 103; F) VIENNA 4649;  
G) MBFR VIENNA 0096

SUMMARY: SPC WILL ON JUNE 27 AGAIN CONSIDER GUIDANCE TO AHG ON  
PHASE II ASSURANCES TO OTHER SIDE. THE MOST SERIOUS ALTERNATIVES  
TO US FORMULATION AR BELGIAN FORMULATION AND UK STATEMENT,  
BOTH OF WHICH SEEK TO ASSURE SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II,  
ALTHOUGH IN DIFFERENT WAYS. MISSION AGREES WITH VIENNA RECOMMENDA-  
TION (PARA 7, REF G) THAT WE SEEK TO MEET THIS CONCERN BY INTERNAL ALL-  
IED AGREEMENT THAT THE COMMITMENT OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO  
REDUCE IN PHASE II SHOULD ALSO COMMIT SOVIETS TO REDUCE IN  
SECRET

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PHASE II. HOWEVER, MISSION BELIEVES SUCH AN INTERNAL AGREEMENT  
WOULD MORE EFFECTIVELY MEET UK AND BELGIAN CONCERN ABOUT  
SOVIET PHASE II REDUCTIONS IF WE COULD ALSO INDICATE  
INTERNALLY IN SPC THAT US WOULD PROBABLY WISH TO PARTICIPATE

IN PHASE II. END SUMMARY

1. NEXT SPC DISCUSSION OF SECTION IV GUIDANCE TO AHG (ASSURANCES TO THE OTHER SIDE ON PHASE II REDUCTIONS) SCHEDULED FOR THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 27. TWO DOCUMENTS WILL BE ON AGENDA. AN IS DOCUMENT NOW IN PREPARATION WILL LIST THE ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS: US (REF A, FIRST ALTERNATIVE IN SECTION IV); FRG (REF A, SECOND ALTERNATIVE IN SECTION IV); BELGIUM (REF B, PARA 5); CANADA (REF C, PARA 2). SPC WILL CONSIDER UK STATEMENT (REF D) SEPARATELY, SINCE IT IS NOT A FORMULATION. THE SECOND DOCUMENT WILL BE AHG MESSAGE TO NAC ON TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS (REF E).

2. DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF FRG FORMULATION IS TO MAKE ASSURANCES TO THE OTHER SIDE "IN AN APPROPRIATE STATEMENT SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT." AHG MESSAGE TO NAC, IN STATING THAT ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WOULD AVOID DISCUSSION OF THE FORM OF THE COMMITMENT, SUPPORTS THE ARGUMENT WE HAVE MADE IN SPC THAT SECTION IV GUIDANCE SHOULD NOT SPECIFY FORM OF COMMITMENT AT THIS TIME, AND INCREASES LIKELIHOOD FRG WILL MODIFY ITS FORMULATION. CANADIAN FORMULATION HAS EVIDENT SHORTCOMING OF NOT ADDRESSING ISSUE OF WHETHER ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL REDUCE IN PHASE II. CANADIANS HAVE TOLD SPC THAT ALTHOUGH THEY PREFER THEIR FORMULATION, THEY CAN SUPPORT ANY OF THE OTHERS.

3. THE MOST SERIOUS ALTERNATIVES TO THE US FORMULATION ARE THE BELGIAN FORMULATION AND THE UK STATEMENT. THE BELGIAN POSITION, AS EXPRESSED IN NATO, IS CLOSER TO THE UK POSITION THAN INDICATED IN REF E, PARA 3. BELGIUM STRONGLY WANTS SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II, AND BELIEVES THAT TO GET THEM, AT LEAST SOME US REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II ARE NECESSARY. THE DESIRE FOR SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II IS BELGIUM'S FIRST REASON FOR WANTING THE US TO JOIN IN ASSURANCES THAT ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS (WITH SIZEABLE GROUND FORCES IN NGAs) WOULD REDUCE IN PHASE II (REF B). BELGIUM WANTS THE US TO COMMIT ITSELF NOW, TO LESSEN POSSIBILITY OF PHASE II EVENTUALLY CONSISTING OF WESTERN EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS FOR POLISH, CZECH AND EAST GERMAN REDUCTIONS ALONE. UK STATEMENT, LIKE BELGIAN FORMULATION, INCLUDES ALL  
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WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN PHASE II COMMITMENT. UK STATEMENT GOES FURTHER IN WANTING EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED AS WELL.

4. MISSION AGREES WITH VIENNA RECOMMENDATIONS THAT WE SEEK TO MEET UK (AND BELGIAN) CONCERN BY INTERNAL ALLIED AGREEMENT THAT THE COMMITMENT OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE IN PHASE II SHOULD ALSO COMMIT THE SOVIETS TO REDUCE IN PHASE II. WE COULD PUT SUCH AN INTERNAL ALLIED AGREEMENT IN TERMS OF A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF PREVIOUS ALLIED AGREEMENT TO SEEK ADDITIONAL SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II (PARA 34, C-M(73)83).

5. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE SUCH AN INTERNAL ALLIED AGREEMENT WOULD

MORE EFFECTIVELY MEET UK AN BELGIAN CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET PHASE II  
REDUCTIONS IF WE COULD INDICATE IN SPC, ALSO FOR INTERNAL PURPOSES,  
THAT THE US WOULD PROBABLY WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II.  
VIENNA SUGGESTED THIS COURSE IN PARA 7, REF F, AND WE SUPPORT IT.  
VIENNA JUDGES, ACCURATELY WE THINK, THAT IT WILL IN FACT BE  
NECESSARY EVENTUALLY TO INFORM SOVIETS US WILL PARTICIPATE IN  
PHASE II TO GET THEM TO ACCEPT IDEA OF FURTHER SOVIET REDUCTIONS  
IN PHASE II (PARA 5, REF F). IF US PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II  
IS PROBABLE, OUR TELLING THE ALLIES THIS NOW, FOR  
INTERNAL PURPOSES, WOULD COMPLEMENT AN INTERNAL AGREEMENT THAT  
THE WESTERN COMMITMENT TO REDUCE IN PHASE II WOULD ALSO COMMIT  
THE SOVIETS TO REDUCE IN PHASE II, AND WOULD THUS FACILITATE  
ALLIED AGREEMENT ON SECTION IV GUIDANCE TO THE AHG.  
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**TAGS:** PARM, NATO  
**To:** STATE IMMEDIATE  
SECDEF INFO MBFR VIENNA  
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LONDON  
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